

Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: U. S. POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP

REF: (A) GENEVA 3042; (B) GENEVA 4358

SUMMARY. DISCUSSION OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP HAS REMAINED DORMANT FOR SOME WEEKS, AWAITING PROGRESS IN OTHER SUBJECT AREAS. DISCUSSION WILL OPEN AGAIN IN SEPTEMBER, WHEN THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE TO BEGIN DRAFTING A DOCUMENT ON FOLLOW-UP. THIS TELEGRAM EXPANDS ON REF (A) AND MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A U.S. POSITION AT THAT TIME. AS USED IN THIS TELEGRAM, "FOLLOW-UP" MEANS SOME FORM OF GENERAL OR POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY. END SUMMARY.

1. CURRENT SITUATION -- SINCE TRANSMISSION OF REF (A), THE DISCUSSION OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP HAS BEEN DORMANT, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE UNWILLINGNESS OF WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS TO DISCUSS ANY KIND OF FOLLOW-UP UNTIL PROGRESS IN OTHER CONFERENCE SUBJECT AREAS, PARTICULARLY MILITARY ASPECTS AND BASKET III, HAS CLARIFIED PROBABLE CSCE RESULTS. IT HAS NOW BEEN AGREED THAT MEETINGS ON THIS SUBJECT WILL BEGIN AGAIN IN SEPTEMBER, FOLLOWING THE SUMMER RECESS, AND WE EXPECT CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE TO BEGIN DRAFTING AT THAT TIME. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR SUCH A SITUATION WITH A TENABLE U.S. POSITION.

2. PROS AND CONS OF FOLLOW-UP -- WE DO NOT INTEND TO WEIGH PROS AND CONS AGAINST EACH OTHER IN THIS TELEGRAM, SINCE WE BELIEVE

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THIS IS TO SOME EXTENT A QUESTION OF SUBJECTIVE JUDGMENT. IN

ADDITION, WE FEEL THAT A USG APPRAISAL OF THIS QUESTION DEPENDS ON A BROADER VIEW OF OUR RELATIONS WITH EUROPE AND THE USSR THAN THAT WHICH CAN BE FORMED FROM WITHIN CSCE ITSELF. WE STATE PROS AND CONS HERE SOLELY IN ORDER TO PLACE THIS QUESTION IN ITS PROPER PERSPECTIVE. THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST FOLLOW-UP ARE WELL KNOWN, IT COULD BE THE POSSIBLE EMBRYO OF A PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM AND IT COULD GIVE THE SOVIETS LEVERAGE TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE. THERE ARE ALSO ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF FOLLOW-UP: IT COULD ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF A U.S. VOICE IN EUROPEAN, ESPECIALLY EAST-WEST, AFFAIRS; IT COULD STRENGTHEN THE COHESIVENESS OF THE NINE THROUGH CONTINUED CONFRONTATION WITH THE USSR; IT COULD PROVIDE A FORUM FOR CONTINUED EAST-WEST DISCUSSION OF MORE NORMAL MOVEMENT OF IDEAS AND PEOPLE THROUGHOUT EUROPE; AND IT COULD PROVIDE EASTERN EUROPEANS WITH A VEHICLE FOR MORE INDEPENDENT STANCE TOWARD USSR. ANOTHER POSSIBLE VIEW IS THAT PROS AND CONS MAY NEUTRALIZE EACH OTHER TO SOME EXTENT, AND THAT IN THE END THE CREATION OF A MODEST CSCE FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM MAY NOT MAKE A GREAT DIFFERENCE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER IN THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE.

3. FOLLOW-UP PROPOSALS -- THUS FAR THERE HAVE BEEN FOUR FORMAL PROPOSALS FOR FOLLOW-UP: A CZECH (AND WARSAW PACT) PROPOSAL FOR AN "ADVISORY COMMITTEE" MEETING FROM TIME TO TIME; A SIMILAR YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL FOR A "CONTINUING COMMITTEE"; A DANISH (AND EC-9) PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM PERIOD FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS (GENERALLY THOUGHT TO BE THE LEVEL OF PRESENT CSCE DELEGATION HEADS) TO EVALUATE CSCE RESULTS; AND, FINALLY, A FINNISH PROPOSAL FOR A "COMMITTEE ON FOLLOW-UP" TO COORDINATE TECHNICAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY AND TO MEET FROM TIME TO TIME ON THE LEVEL OF HIGH OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS BROADER QUESTIONS. UNDER PRESENT GUIDANCE, USDEL HAS GIVEN GENERAL SUPPORT TO THE DANISH IDEA, WHILE MAKING IT CLEAR TO OUR NATO ALLIES THAT WE CONSIDER THE MANDATE FOR THE PROPOSED MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS TOO BROAD.

4. ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS -- OUR CURRENT ESTIMATE OF WHAT MIGHT CONSTITUTE MINIMUM ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON FOLLOW-UP CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS: (A) FOR U.S.: NO ELABORATE PERMANENT MACHINERY WITH A SPECIFIC POLITICAL/SECURITY MANDATE;

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(B) FOR NATO ALLIES: AN INTERIM PERIOD BEFORE DECISION IS TAKEN ON ESTABLISHMENT OF REGULAR FOLLOW-UP;
(C) FOR EASTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES: COMMITMENT NOW TO PERIODIC FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS WITH A GENERAL MANDATE. MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS RECOGNIZE THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO COMPROMISE IN SOME FASHION WITH THE ESSENTIAL DESIRES OF EASTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, AND TO BLOCK THIS TENDENCY, WE BELIEVE WE WOULD HAVE TO USE OUR VETO. NEVERTHESESS, IT MAY

BE POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY AN AREA OF COMPROMISE WHICH WILL SATISFY EVERYONE'S ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS, PROVIDED WE ARE PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THAT UNDER ALMOST ANY CIRCUMSTANCES GENERAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY WILL HAVE A MANDATE AS BROAD AS THAT OF CSCE ITSELF, AND THAT THIS WILL PERMIT DELEGATIONS TO RAISE VIRTUALLY ANY EUROPEAN SUBJECT THEY WISH.

5. COMPROMISE PROPOSALS -- THUS FAR, TWO "COMPROMISE" PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD: THE FIRST OF THESE IS THE FORMAL FINNISH PROPOSAL MENTIONED ABOVE, IN WHICH COMPROMISE IS BASED ON THE IDEA OF A BASICALLY TECHNICAL MANAGERIAL COMMITTEE, WHICH WOULD COORDINATE OTHER FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES AND WOULD MEET ONLY RARELY ON A LEVEL WHICH COULD DISCUSS POLITICAL QUESTIONS, THE SECOND COMPROMISE IDEA WAS CIRCULATED INFORMALLY BY THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION. UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT THERE WOULD BE AN INTERIM PERIOD, FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS AS IN THE DANISH PROPOSAL, BUT IT WOULD BE STIPULATED THAT THE MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS WOULD DECIDE ON THE PERIODICITY OF FUTURE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. A THIRD POSSIBLE COMPROMISE, WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN ADVANCED BY ANYONE, MIGHT BE ADOPTION OF THE DANISH IDEA, PLUS A SIMPLE STATEMENT THAT, DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, ALL NECESSARY CONTACTS WITH REGARD TO CSCE MATTERS WILL TAKE PLACE IN A DESIGNATED CAPITAL. SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD PERMIT COORDINATION OF FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES IN A SINGLE LOCALE. NECESSARY CONTACTS WOULD BE PRIMARILY INFORMAL ONES AMONG EMBASSIES IN THE DESIGNATED CITY, BUT COULD BE FACILITATED BY THE HOST COUNTRY BY CIRCULAR NOTES OR INFORMAL MEETINGS IF REQUIRED.

6. RECOMMENDED ACTION -- AS WE INDICATED IN REF (A), WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE AUTHORIZATION TO MOVE WITH OUR ALLIES TOWARD A MODERATE COMPROMISE ON THIS ISSUE, WHEN DRAFTING BEGINS AND OUR ALLIES ARE READY TO MAKE SUCH A MOVE. WE CANNOT AT THIS TIME

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FORESEE WHAT THE NATURE OF THAT COMPROMISE WILL BE, BUT THE EXAMPLES WE HAVE GIVEN ABOVE SHOULD INDICATE THE KINDS OF POSSIBILITIES WHICH WE BELIEVE THE USG SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT. WE WOULD URGE THE DEPARTMENT TO EXAMINE THESE CONSIDERATIONS CAREFULLY, AND TO PROVIDE US WITH THE GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH WE WILL REQUIRE WHEN DRAFTING BEGINS.

7. THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN PREPARED AT ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN'S REQUEST AND IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED IF IT WERE BROUGHT TO HIS ATTENTION. DALE

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR SARROS.

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